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RELIGIOUS VALUES AMONG JAPANESE AMERICANS AND
THEIR RELATIONSHIP TO
COUNSELING

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INTRODUCTION

Studies of Japanese Americans have been sociological, historical, and psychological in nature. There are few or no studies on the religious life of Japanese Americans. Religion is either glossed over or dismissed as unimportant by most scholars of Japanese Americans. Harry Kitano, one of the foremost Japanese American scholars, deals with religion in two pages while dealing at length sociologically with customs which have deep religious roots but making no connection with Japanese religion.¹ Perhaps the reason for this is that Japanese Americans have defined religion in a very narrow sense, meaning the cultic and pietistic practices of a people. In this sense the Japanese Americans are not a religious people.

However, the author believes that religion defined in broader terms applying to matters concerning the Eternal or Divine applies to the Japanese American. With this definition, the Japanese Americans are a deeply religious people. The study of religious values among the Japanese Americans is important because it deals with ultimate values and concerns of Japanese Americans. The study of the influence of religion among the Japanese Americans will

¹Harry H. Kitano, Japanese-Americans--The Evolution of a Subculture (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1968).

give important clues to the behavior of the Issei, Nisei, and Sansei, and in fact all succeeding generations of Japanese Americans.

The Japanese American is the inheritor of two religious cultures: Japan and the United States of America. Both nations pride themselves on their religious backgrounds. The United States is a country claiming to be a "God-fearing" nation. It is built on the Judeo-Christian or biblical tradition of religion, an important aspect of Western culture and hence America.² Religion in the United States is however compartmentalized, often being relegated to a Sunday affair or pietism and ritual.

Japan claims to be a divine nation. In her mythology Japan is born from the Sun Goddess Amaterasu. The emperor is a direct descendant of the Sun Goddess and therefore divine.³ All Japanese are related to the divine. The difference between the American view of religion and the Japanese view is that the Japanese did not compartmentalize religion. Religion was a part of and inseparable from life. Masaharu Anesaki says that for the Japanese

²John A. Hutchison, "American Values in the Perspective of Faith," in Donald R. Barrett (ed.) Values in America (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1961), p. 131.

³Hideo Kishimoto, Japanese Religion in the Meiji Era (Tokyo: Obunsha, 1956), p. 41.

religion and life are inseparable. Their social as well as individual lives are deeply tinged with religious ideas and aesthetic feelings. Religion is interwoven with their daily lives.⁴

The study of religious values of the Japanese American involves the study of Japanese as well as Western religions. The Japanese Americans, though generations away from Japan are still products of and under the influence of Japanese heritage. Though no longer "Japanese," they are in name, in appearance, in some habits, and in some ultimate values still Japanese.

The Japanese Americans are not fully recognized as American. Because they are not white, and because their values may be different, they are not fully American; in short, the Japanese Americans are hyphenated persons and will be so until changes are made in societal values within the United States. In the process of becoming American or acculturating, there are tensions which develop in the Japanese Americans as two religious systems are encountered within themselves.

Hypothesis:

The hypothesis for this dissertation is: The

⁴Masaharu Anesaki, Religious Life of the Japanese People (Tokyo: Kokusai Bunka Shinkokai, 1961), pp. 8-9.

Japanese Americans inherit and adopt or are impacted upon by two diverse religious value systems which cause inner conflicts and tensions.

It is the purpose of this paper to discover the conflicts and to explore their relationship to counseling and particularly pastoral counseling.

Methodology:

The search for the religious values of the Japanese American must include a study of the religion of the Meiji era in Japan (1868-1912). It was from this era that the Issei (the immigrants--first generation of Japanese in America) came. With them they brought their language, customs, and religion. To the modern Japanese, the Issei are an anachronism in language and practice. Nevertheless it is necessary to go back seventy or more years to study the religion from which the Issei inherited their customs and values. The Issei came with Meiji religion and through the years reinforced it, nurtured it, and that religion remains much the same as it was seventy years ago.

The study of Japanese Americans also involves religious values in Western culture. The author assumes that the readers of this dissertation are acquainted with the religious values of American society and therefore has not dealt extensively with them. He has dealt with them in

the text of the chapter III.

Because there are no data on the religious values of Japanese Americans, a survey of eighteen persons connected with Evergreen Baptist Church was made. From the survey, conclusions were reached regarding the religious values among Japanese Americans.

Definition of Religious Values:

Although value is a complex philosophical problem, for the purpose of this dissertation the definitions from Edgar Brightman and Ralph Perry suffice. Brightman defines value as "whatever is liked, desired, or approved."⁵ Similarly Perry defines value as "something, anything, that is the object of interest."⁶ Brightman defines religion as relating the total life of human individuals and societies to God or the Divine by moral or mystical bonds. Religion according to Brightman claims sovereignty over the whole of life.⁷ Religious value is therefore something liked, desired, or approved which relates the life of an individual or society to God or the Divine.

⁵Edgar Sheffield Brightman, Religious Values (New York: Abingdon Press, 1925), p. 15.

⁶Ralph Borton Perry, Realms of Value (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1954), pp. 2-3.

⁷Brightman, p. 73.

Religious Values in Counseling:

In relationship to pastoral counseling the study of religious values is important because life is a search for a hierarchy of value-commitments, and a function of counseling is to enable the counselee to discover what value system he already experiences as well as to change or adopt new values.⁸ There is no question that values are involved in counseling.⁹ Roberto Assagioli says,

...It is interesting to note that in the last few years an increasing number of clinicians have started to talk about the problem of values in psychotherapy, of the relationship between the values of the therapist and the values of the patient, whether and when it is advisable for the therapist to divulge his own values, how he can help the patient to more mature values and so on.¹⁰

For the pastor as counselor who brings a given set of values into the counseling situation it is well to know what values the counselees bring. For the Japanese American counselor it is well to know oneself and the counselee.

⁸C. H. Patterson, Theories of Counseling and Psychotherapy (New York: Harper & Row, 1973), p. 13.

⁹Ibid., p. 73.

¹⁰Roberto Assagioli, Psychosynthesis (New York: Viking Press, 1965), p. 89.

Importance of Study:

This study is important in itself for it speaks to the dearth of knowledge concerning Japanese Americans and begins to fill the void in the area of the religious life of Japanese Americans. In addition this study will make a contribution to other ethnic studies. Hilary Conroy and T. Scott Miyakawa in East Across the Pacific says:

Studies on the Japanese and other Asian immigrants and their American-born descendants are potentially important not only in themselves, but also as sources of comparative data to test various explanatory generalizations regarding American ethnic and race relations and regarding the experience of European immigrants. Most of these generalizations are derived from American research on European ethnics and Afro-Americans.¹¹

As far as the author has been able to determine this is the first study of the religious values among Japanese Americans and therefore is a pioneering effort. Hopefully it will be useful as a tool which others will use to delve deeper into this subject.

Limitations:

Because of the author's lack of facility in reading Japanese, the study of Japanese religion has been mainly limited to translations of Japanese works. He has not

¹¹Hilary Conroy and T. Scott Miyakawa, East Across the Pacific (Santa Barbara: American Bibliographical Center Clio Press, 1972), p. xii.

relied on many Western observations because he wanted a Japanese view of Japanese religion, not a Judeo-Christian one. Because the research has been nil on this subject, what has been written has been determined through inference and interview.

Furthermore because of the limitation of time, a thorough study of this problem is precluded. Only the religious values of the Nisei have been researched. Time has not allowed the research of either the Issei or the Sansei. Perhaps at a later time, a more thorough study will be made.

CHAPTER I

RELIGIOUS VALUES IN MEIJI JAPAN (1868-1912)

The beginning of the Meiji era in Japan spelled the end of the Tokugawa reign under which Japan had been isolated for two centuries. The isolation was total and brought on by an intense reaction to Christianity and the European countries.

Religiously speaking the transition from Tokugawa to Meiji can be described as the replacement of state patronage of Buddhism with the state patronage of Shinto.¹ Shinto is Japan's unique contribution to the history of religions. It is Japan's native religion and gave Japan continuity with ancient customs.² It was Shinto that provided the ideology for the Meiji restoration.³

While Buddhism fell out of favor with the ruling hierarchy, Jodo Shinshu, the popular brand of Japanese Buddhism, still managed to survive and to adapt to the times and continues even today as one of the most popular religions in Japan.

It would seem as though Shinto and Buddhism are the religions of Japan. But there is no single religion which

¹H. Byron Earhart, Japanese Religion (Belmont: Dickenson, 1969), p. 77.

²Ibid., p. 14. ³Ibid., p. 2.

could be called "Japanese Religion." Japanese religion is an amalgam of Shinto, Buddhism, Confucianism, Religious Taoism, and to some degree Christianity (the influence was at least a negative one; that is, the reaction against Christianity helped to solidify Japanese religion). The various beliefs and practices of Japanese religion constitute an interrelated network of a total world view which enriches human life by bringing it into contact with a sacred or divine power.⁴

The religion of Meiji Japan was Japanese religion, the unique combination of many religions. The nature of this religion is illustrated in the following:

A saying ascribed to Prince Shotoku, the founder of Japanese civilization, compares the three religions and moral systems found in Japan to the root, the stem and branches, and the flowers and fruits of a tree. Shinto is the root embedded in the soil of the people's character and national traditions; Confucianism is seen in the stem and branches of legal institutions, ethical codes, and educational systems; Buddhism made the flowers of religious sentiment bloom and gave the fruits of spiritual life. These three systems were molded and combined by the circumstances of the times and by the genius of the people into a composite whole of the nation's spiritual and moral life.⁵

The values in Japanese religion have been studied by Byron Earhart, an American scholar of Japanese religion,

⁴Ibid., p. 95.

⁵Masaharu Anesaki, History of Japanese Religion (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner, 1930), p. 8.

Ichiro Hori, a Japanese scholar, and T. T. Brumbaugh. The latter scholar's book called Religious Values in Japanese Culture was not helpful because it dealt with values mainly from the Christian point of view. The other studies were helpful.

Byron Earhart lists the following themes in Japanese religious history:

1. The closeness of man, gods, and nature.
2. The crucial function of the family system.
3. The significance of purification, ritual, and charms.
4. The prominence of local festivals and individual cults.
5. The interwovenness of religion with everyday life.
6. The bond between the Japanese religion and the Japanese nation.⁶

Ichiro Hori lists:

1. The emphasis on filial piety and ancestor worship connected with the Japanese family system and agriculture.
2. Deep-rooted and common beliefs in the spirits of the dead in connection with ancestor worship.
3. Emphasis on on and ho-on.
4. Continuity between man and deity.
5. Mutual borrowing and mixing of different religious traditions or a syncretistic character.

⁶Earhart, pp. 5-8.

6. Co-existence of heterogeneous religions in one family or in one person.⁷

In comparing the two lists, the author feels that the primary Japanese religious value is the emphasis on filial piety and ancestor worship. Under this category are placed Earhart's 2, 3, 4 and Hori's 1, 2 and 3. The next value is the closeness of man, gods and nature. Here are combined Hori's 4 and Earhart's 5. Next is the bond between Japanese religion and the Japanese nation. Lastly is the syncretistic character of Japanese religion which includes Hori's 5 and 6.

EMPHASIS ON FILIAL PIETY AND ANCESTOR WORSHIP

Filial piety was the cornerstone of Meiji Japan. While the genesis of the family system may have arisen as an economic or political necessity, filial piety and the family system have its roots in religion. Scholars say that Confucianism influenced to a large degree the structures of Japanese society, and if it did not influence the structure, then it provided a rationale for it.⁸ The Confucian notion of filial piety made a natural appeal to

⁷ Ichiro Hori, "The Appearance of Individual Self Consciousness in Japanese Religion and Its Historical Transformations," in Charles A. Moore (ed.) The Japanese Mind (Honolulu: East-West Center Press, 1967), p. 214.

⁸ Earhart, p. 71.

the Japanese.⁹ Confucianism stressed status ethics.¹⁰ Its hierarchical system set up relationships between lord and retainer, parent and child, senior and junior, brother and sister, husband and wife, friend and friend. Everyone had a superior; even the emperor had his superior, the Sun Goddess.¹¹ Confucian ethics solidified the social life of the Japanese. The essence of moral and social conduct amounted to subordination, obedience, and dutifulness on the part of each individual.¹²

The importance of filial piety and the family is underscored in the New Civil Law of 1891 which stressed these points:

1. The family is the basis of society.
2. The family centers about the father.
3. The peculiar Japanese hereditary succession is to be strictly maintained. Ancestral spirits dwell in the family house. The head of the household is the living embodiment of these spirits. Naturally the eldest son should succeed as the head of the family.
4. The family system is the basis of Japanese polity.
5. The family system binds each individual to all his relations.¹³

⁹Ibid., p. 29.

¹⁰Hideo Kishimoto, Japanese Religion in the Meiji Era (Tokyo: Obunsha, 1956), p. 9.

¹¹Masaharu Anesaki, Religious Life of the Japanese People (Tokyo: Kokusai Bunka Shinkokai, 1961), p. 31.

¹²Ibid., p. 38. ¹³Kishimoto, p. 341.

The Japanese were taught that to the parents and ancestors he owed his being. He could only repay them by gratitude and by demonstrating their glory. Nothing could be more humiliating to self respect than to bring disrepute to his family.¹⁴

The family was based on a vertical relationship with father at the head.¹⁵ In him was embodied the family which represented all the ancestors.¹⁶ In the nexus of the family the primary relationship was that of parent and child, not husband and wife (as it is in many American families). Nitobe says: "Marriage is a human institution and in a sense less divinely ordained than parentage. Our conception is that relation between parent and child is more divinely ordered and ordained."¹⁷

Within this same nexus a heavy stress was placed on relations among many individuals rather than upon the individual as an independent entity. The person was subordinated to the family.¹⁸ He was almost nothing in comparison to the community.¹⁹

¹⁴Inazo Nitobe, The Japanese Nation (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1912), p. 158.

¹⁵Ibid., p. 159.

¹⁶Hajimi Nakamura, Ways of Thinking of Eastern People (Honolulu: East-West Center Press, 1964), p. 449.

¹⁷Nitobe, p. 160. ¹⁸Nakamura, pp. 409, 414.

¹⁹Anesaki, History of Japanese Religions, p. 36.

With father as the head of the family, what was the place of women? The mythology of the Japanese helps to answer that question. In Shinto, the Sun Goddess or the Heaven Illuminating Lady (oh-hira-me-muchi) was bright and beautiful in features, unrivaled in dignity, benign, honest, and meek in temper. She ruled wisely and brilliantly the land assigned to her, giving light and life to all. She protected the rice fields by constructing irrigation canals. She is represented as the organizer of religious rites, especially the observances of the rites of purity. She had the duty of establishing peace and order, of caring for agriculture and the food supply.²⁰

From the mythology it can be seen that women were respected in Japanese religion, for it was from woman that Japan was created. Yet the functions of the woman were tilling the fields, keeping the peace, providing for food. This was so in Meiji Japan. Additionally the woman existed for the family. Her job was to rear the children. Though Japan came from a woman, the man in Meiji Japan was superior to the woman. It is interesting to note the difference between the way in which the Japanese looked at women and the way in which the Japanese saw the American's perception of women. An early immigrant observer of

²⁰Ibid., p. 27.

America says that America is a feminine nation, a nation of women worshipers.²¹ It may be concluded from this statement that Japan did not worship women, and was a masculine nation, which would be supported by the family nexus.

The eldest son in the family had special significance for he was the heir to the family. In him, next to the father, was the living embodiment of the ancestral spirits. It was considered a privilege to be the oldest son not only because he was exclusive heir to family property, but because he could remain close to his parents and thus receive their counsel as long as they lived.²² However, with the privilege went responsibility for caring for the parents and looking after other siblings in the family.

Filial piety and ancestor worship went hand in hand. In 1868 a daimyo (a feudal lord) considered man's greatest moral obligation to have respect for the gods and to worship his own ancestors. He says:

The deep meaning behind reforming funeral ceremonies is to revive preference for Shinto. From the beginning of time, the will of the gods has been to rule the whole

²¹Yoneo Noguchi, Japan and America (Tokyo: Keio University Press, 1921), p. 87.

²²Chiye Sano, "Changing Values of the Institutional Family," in Bernard S. Silberman (ed.) Japanese Character and Culture (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1962), p. 119.

world in peace and to let all its people live in safety. It is too bad that the people do not realize this, and that they do not exert every effort for the land of the gods. Respect alone does not suffice. The things which please the gods, that is, which we may call the way of the gods, are to entrust our hearts with the best of our ability to the nation: to worship the gods, particularly our own ancestors, to continue religious observances and to maintain national peace.²³

The Japanese believed that there was a religious continuity of the family, living and dead.²⁴ The essence of ancestor worship is recorded by Yone Noguchi:

The essence of ancestor worship should be, of course, in the very beauty of the personal communication with the spirits departed, their protection is transcendentally divine, while it keeps, on the other hand, a human actuality. Ancestor worship reveals its living power in our behalf that the worldly aspect of the ancestral spirits, the invisible, will be kept as in their lives...²⁵

Ancestor worship took the forms of funerals and memorials which are the two most important functions of Buddhism today.²⁶ There was a high degree of respect for the dead. The memorial service was simple and silent, but this did not mean a lack of reverence or piety.²⁷ In fact the simple spoke of the profundity of the remembrance. The Japanese had a fondness for the simple symbolic

²³Kishimoto, pp. 61-62.

²⁴Earhart, p. 33.

²⁵Noguchi, pp. 30-31.

²⁶Nakamura, p. 425.

²⁷Anesaki, Religious Life of the Japanese People, p. 16.

expression, one of the deep-rooted attitudes of the Japanese.²⁸ Funeral and memorial services on the 49th day after death, a year later, and three years later were conducted by the Buddhists.²⁹

The rituals of religion were centered around the family. In every house there was a butsudan, a shrine for Buddha, or a kamidana, a god shelf, or a Shinto house shrine. Sometimes in the same house there were both. It was within these places that the ancestors were thought to reside. The Meiji Japanese had daily rituals before the altars and gave their first fruits to the gods. Even festivals like New Year's Day or O Bon (All Souls Day) were family cultic events.³⁰

Other festivals were times for the family to gather. The Shinto festivals in addition to New Year's Day were Girls' Day, the third day of the third month; Boys' Day, the fifth day of the fifth month; the Star Festival, the seventh day of the seventh month; and the Chrysanthemum Festival, the ninth day of the ninth month.³¹ The Buddhist festivals were O Bon, Hanamatsuri. All these were family celebrations.

²⁸Nakamura, p. 573. ²⁹Ibid., p. 415.

³⁰Anesaki, Religious Life of the Japanese People, pp. 3-7.

³¹Earhart, p. 19.

Within ancestor worship there were charms and superstitions, and rituals of purification. Anesaki points out that there were impurities like birth, blood, disease, corpses, and when someone was contaminated by any of these he or she had to go and bathe.³² Bathing on New Year's Eve was an important ritual guaranteeing that the person entered the New Year clean. Religious Taoism contributed to the Japanese beliefs about lucky days and lucky directions as well as the charm of charms.³³ Even today Isseis believe that one must sleep with one's head in a certain direction. Others rely on stones or other artifacts to heal or to ward off evil spirits.

A practice that comes out of ancestor worship is the conduct of on and ho-on. On is the debt which one owes to a superior or to anyone for a favor done. Ho on is what the superior or the one who does the favor gives in return for the payment of the debt. The Japanese thought that the ancestors were merged with Buddha, yet they were very present and spiritually active in the affairs of the household. That reality provided a sense of security and reminded the current generation of its debt to its forebearers. This debt is paid through working for the

³²Anesaki, History of Japanese Religion, p. 35.

³³Earhart, p. 31.

welfare of the household.³⁴ Since the duty of the parent to child and child to parent was spelled out in the ethics of the Japanese religion, each person was taught ko (duty to parents) and on (obligation between individuals or one's right to anticipate reciprocity). Ko is the absolute adjuration to serve and to honor the parents. The child gives ko and received from them on.³⁵ This obligatory cycle was continued for as long as the person lived and sometimes it was carried on by the relatives of the deceased.³⁶

The greatest influence upon the Meiji Japanese and hence the Issei psyche and behavior was filial piety. It left its mark upon them in terms of feelings of individuality and of dependency needs.

Feelings of Individuality:

Hegel's observation of Eastern religions was:

The fundamental principle of the various religions of the East are that the single Substance alone is Time and an individual has no value in itself apart from

³⁴Richard K. Beardsley, John W. Hall, and Robert E. Ward, "The Household," in Silberman, p. 47.

³⁵Takeyoshi Kawashima, Michio Nagai, and John W. Bennett, "A Summary and Analysis of the Family Structure of Japanese Society," in Silberman, pp. 104-105.

³⁶Ichiro Hori, Folk Religion in Japan (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968), p. 12.

that which exists in and for itself, the absolute; that an individual is capable of assuming true value by uniting itself with Substance, when this individual, however, is no longer a 'Subject' but is dissolved into the unconscious.³⁷

His observation is partially correct with regard to the Meiji Japanese for whom the family was important and the individual secondary. The family was the absolute. If anything the self could not be, apart from the family, and therefore, the individual was at best the means toward an end, the glorification of the family. The consciousness of individuality among people in Japan was underdeveloped as a result of filial piety.³⁸ The author observes that the Issei have a tendency to put themselves down and to count themselves as non-persons.

Amae:

Another interesting characteristic of the Japanese which results from filial piety and the family system is amae which comes from the verb amaeru and has as a root meaning sweet. It means to depend and presume upon another's benevolence.³⁹ The tendency to amae comes from

³⁷ Nakamura, pp. 12-13.

³⁸ Hori, "The Appearance of Individual...", p. 214.

³⁹ L. Take Doi, "Amae: A Key Concept for Understanding Japanese Personality Structure," in Robert J. Smith and Richard R. Beardsley (eds.) Japanese Culture (Chicago: Aldine, 1962), p. 132.

the family system upon which the child depended for physical and psychological nourishment. Ezra F. Vogel and Susanne Vogel make the observation that the Japanese children are far more dependent upon mother than the American.⁴⁰

The structure of the Japanese family made the child heavily dependent upon the family and particularly upon mother.

Amae led to two behavioral consequences: kodawaru (to be inwardly disturbed over one's personal relationship) and sumanai (to feel guilty or obligated). Sumanai comes from the frustration of wishing to amaeru.⁴¹ In other words when one cannot rely on the benevolence of others for any reason, one feels guilty or feels obligated to amae.

Another consequence of amae is shinkeishitsu, or neurasthenia, anxiety neurosis and obsessional neurosis. The symptom of shinkeishitsu is toraware (to be bound or to be caught). The cause of toraware is amaeru. What happens is that one is prevented from being able to depend and

⁴⁰Ezra F. Vogel and Susanne Vogel, "Family Security, Personal Immaturity and Emotional Health in Japanese Sample," Marriage and Family Living XXIII:2 (May 1961), 163.

⁴¹Doi, p. 133.

presume upon another's love because of repression or isolation. Yet the desire to amaeru still persists and leads to the development of distorted interpersonal relationships, the feelings of which are put back on one's self or one's own body. The neurosis comes from relying too much on others and having that feeling frustrated.⁴²

An example of the cause of amae is illustrated by Chiye Sano:

"The human child is physically and psychologically dependent upon his parents for many years. As a rule, psychological dependency continues longer than mere physical dependency, chiefly because a human family is 'not only a biological group,' but is first and foremost a social institution, one of whose main functions is that of enculturation. In the Japanese culture, this psychological dependency is emphasized to an utmost degree and has been made the basis for all the rules of conduct and moral behavior that regulate the parent-child relationships.⁴³

The perpetuation of on is an example of the desire to amaeru and to receive amae. When on is broken the person tends to feel angry, guilty, still obligated to continue the practice. Thus on is practiced obsessively. The practice of on and the status of the structure in Japanese society caused the person to have giri which is the obligation to live up to the standard or rank or call

⁴²Charlotte G. Babcock, "Reflections on Dependency Phenomena as seen in the Nisei in the United States," in Smith and Beardsley, pp. 175-176.

⁴³Sano, p. 112.

⁴⁴Beardsley, p. 158.

and to do nothing to discredit it.⁴⁴ Giri is the compulsive character of the Japanese to continue on.

The effect of amae on the Japanese was that both men and women were treated as minors even while in their early twenties. Cooperation in the family was the highest principle in family life.⁴⁵ Thus the individual had to give up his or her aspirations when the family interests and desires were not being met. In order to receive amae the child had to meet the demands of the family. When one went against the family, then one suffered shinkeishitsu.

THE JAPANESE RELIGION AND THE JAPANESE NATION

Filial piety led to another religious value, the close relationship of Japanese religion and the Japanese nation. The heads of the households bound the nation together by their reverence for the emperor, who was the spiritual father of all Japanese.⁴⁶ The Meiji Japanese call their emperor Tenno hekka. He was divine. Shinto took the Confucian idea of status and infused it with religion so that for the Meiji Japanese, religious devotion to the nation and to the emperor were the same.⁴⁷

⁴⁵Sano, p. 119.

⁴⁶Kishimoto, p. 342.

⁴⁷Ibid., p. 29.

The author recalls seeing an Issei who was an American citizen cry when Japan was defeated at the conclusion of World War II. She was an American citizen whose brother was wounded in the European theatre, but nevertheless her ties to Japan were so great that she cried when Japan lost the war. Many Issei still look to Japan and the Emperor with a great deal of devotion even though the Emperor has declared himself no longer divine.

This value may have dissipated in Japan but is still very much alive in the Issei today.

THE CLOSENESS OF MAN, GODS, AND NATURE

The Meiji Japanese did not have a monotheistic concept of God. "God was not a distinct entity complete in itself, but was diffused in all that is above and beyond ordinary human beings."⁴⁸ Neither Shinto nor Buddhism claimed a transcendent god. In Buddhism there was no concept of god, though there was a concept of buddha. Buddha is one who is enlightened or had reached the Pure Land. In Shinto there were kami (divinities). The interesting fact about that word is that it could refer to anything above. It could mean hair or even paper.

Shinto stressed the love of the land where the gods

⁴⁸Nakamura, p. 524.

abode and the forefathers reposed. It venerated whatever was old and taught a respect and affection for nature.⁴⁹ Shinto taught the worshipper to place himself in surroundings conducive to meditation, "When the sky is clear and the winds hum in the fir trees, 'tis the heart of a god who thus reveals himself."⁵⁰

The Japanese had a sense of oneness with the environment.⁵¹ Anesaki says,

The sympathetic response of the heart, the receptive movement of thought, and the flexibility of mind were fostered by the influence of the physical environment and quickened by frequent contact with other civilizations. The course and destiny of the Japanese civilization were determined then by the inherent character of the people, combined with external influences.⁵²

The love of nature, Nakamura contends, is tied with the Japanese's love for minute and delicate things.⁵³ One needs only to look at the art of Japan to see the detail and attention to minute things. The Japanese of the Meiji era and to some degree of modern Japan, relied on simple symbols and things.⁵⁴

Nature was something not to be conquered but to be harmonized. The Japanese garden is illustrative of harmony.

⁴⁹Nitobe, p. 137. ⁵⁰Ibid., p. 129.

⁵¹T. T. Brumbaugh, Religious Values in Japanese Culture (Tokyo: Kyo Bun Kwan, 1934), pp. 4-5.

⁵²Anesaki, History of Japanese Religions, p. 5.

⁵³Nakamura, p. 356. ⁵⁴Ibid., p. 573.

What the Japanese did was to bring nature into the house or the backyard. The bonsai is a tree that is shaped and dwarfed, but not cropped, whereas the Western philosophy of conquering nature is exhibited in sculptured gardens and squared off hedges.

The love of nature in the Japanese was closely tied to the love of human beings. The Japanese placed an emphasis on the love of others. Though this love was in a strict stratification (according to class and rank), there was a deep respect for all human beings. In Amida Buddhism (Jodo Shinshu), salvation, that is entrance into the Pure Land, could be had by anyone who said the nembutsu.

Salvation was for the bad as well as the good person.⁵⁵ The Japanese felt that to live a natural life is to be just and good. In fact everything natural was good.

Shinto had no concept of original sin, but had a faith in the innate purity of the human soul. Evil was immoderation and excess.⁵⁶ The Buddhist saw humanity as suffering, but this was because humanity was deluded. It was believed that anyone could rise above the delusion and thus not suffer. There was in the Japanese a high esteem

⁵⁵Ibid., pp. 381-393.

⁵⁶Inazo Nitobe, Lectures on Japan (Tokyo: Kenkyusha, 1936), p. 115; and his The Japanese Nation, p. 123.

and acceptance for man's natural disposition.⁵⁷

The Japanese did not practice a group cultic religion like Christianity. They did not have regular services. Religion was interwoven into daily life. Their view of the natural world was that there was a mutual empathy of all natural phenomena.⁵⁸ Everything was, so to say, "holy". For instance, the Japanese had an honorific "o" which prefixed almost everything. Thus a toilet, a temple, a cookie, a person, or a god was given that prefix. This, Nakamura says, indicates a raison d'etre and sacredness in everything that exists.⁵⁹

THE SYNCRETISTIC CHARACTER OF JAPANESE RELIGION

Japan took various religions and molded them to suit their civilization. Religion defined as devotion to the ultimate and a readiness to sacrifice to it earthly welfare and life was part and parcel of Japanese life.⁶⁰ The Japanese found religious fulfillment, not in tradition alone, but in the power which came from all the traditions (Shinto, Buddhist, Confucianism, Religious Taoism, even Christianity). In other words, Japanese tradition tended

⁵⁷Nakamura, p. 381 ⁵⁸Kishimoto, p. 27.

⁵⁹Nakamura, p. 36. ⁶⁰Earhart, p. 3.

to be syncretistic rather than exclusive.⁶¹

With regard to the major religious traditions in Japanese religion, Anesaki says that Buddhism in Japan bridged Taoism and Confucianism, and in fact Shinto became a part of Buddhism and Buddhism a part of Shinto. He notes that this is a cultural trait of the Japanese for the reconciliation of opposites.⁶² Japanese religion is a unity but has within it a diversity. It was not uncommon to find that a Japanese was married Shinto and buried Buddhist. Within one house the symbol of Buddhism, the butsudon, and the symbol of Shinto, the kamidana, could be found. It was not unusual for one person to have several religious loyalties. Anesaki states that the solution to diversity was sought in practical compromise and not in speculation or logical pursuit of consequences.⁶³

The adaptability of the Japanese is illustrated by what happened to Christianity during the Sokoku or the two centuries of the Tokugawa regime when Christianity was outlawed in Japan, and Japan was a closed nation. Miraculously in parts of Japan, Christianity persisted. But its

⁶¹ Charles Norton Eliot, Japanese Buddhism (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1959), p. 182.

⁶² Anesaki, Religious Life of the Japanese People, p. 44.

⁶³ Anesaki, History of Japanese Religions, p. 9.

form had changed. When the doors of Japan were again opened there was discovered a peculiar brand of Christianity.⁶⁴ Christianity had become like backroom Buddhism. The creed was handed down to adults as they came of age, the duties of catechizing, preaching, baptizing were distributed by a hierarchy. There were some superstitions that were developed, like John the Baptist becoming the water god, and St. Lawrence and St. Francis the wind gods; but the Creed, the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, remained intact.⁶⁵

The syncretistic character of Japanese religion shows in the writings of Inazo Nitobe, a respected scholar and pioneer in establishing relationships between the United States and Japan. He was a Quaker by choice, but the influence of Japanese religion is seen in the following written shortly after the death of his son:

Thus was I standing in the path of the Sanctuary of Sorrow; by strange steep ways had I too been guided thither and ere long its sacred gate would open and the Divine Depth of Sorrow be disclosed to me.

Then he remembers the philosophy of Buddha and he continues:

How did Buddha solve the mysteries of human suffering? He answered thus: by lifting himself above the pains

⁶⁴Kenneth Scott Latourette, The History of the Expansion of Christianity (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1953), III, 333.

⁶⁵Charles R. Boxer, The Christian Century in Japan (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1951), p. 396.

and pleasures of life, yes, by even looking down upon life and despising it...Buddha knows not the mission of sorrow. How difficult, how different all this is from the faith and the beautiful Christian passivity...the more I try to apply the effects, social and individual, of the two great masters, the stronger becomes my conviction that I have upon the essential truth.⁶⁶

Another quotation from the Study of Shinto by G. Kato as quoted by T. T. Brumbaugh points to syncretistic character of Japanese religion:

By routes diverse men may the mountain climb,
Each path presenting different views sublime--
But when to the proud summit they do rise,
the self-same smiling moon doth greet
all eyes.⁶⁷

Finally the quotation with which this chapter began:

Prince Shotoku, the founder of Japanese civilization compares the three religions and moral systems found in Japan to the root, the stem and branches, and the flowers and fruits of a tree. Shinto is the root embedded in the soil of the people's character and national traditions; Confucianism is seen in the stem and branches of legal institutions, ethical codes and educational systems; Buddhism made the flowers of religious sentiment bloom and gave the fruits of spiritual life...⁶⁸

The Issei were the inheritors of this rich religious tradition.

⁶⁶Sukeo Kitasawa, The Life of Dr. Nitobe (Tokyo: Hokuseido Press, 1953), pp. 30-31.

⁶⁷Brumbaugh, p. 124.

⁶⁸Anesaki, History of Japanese Religions, p. 8.

CHAPTER II

BUSHIDO: THE VEHICLE OF JAPANESE
RELIGIOUS VALUES

The primary vehicle by which the Japanese religious values was perpetuated is the code of bushido. Because of its importance to the psyche and the behavior of the Issei, a chapter has been devoted to examining this topic. In the introduction to Dr. Nitobe's Bushido, Soul of Japan, William Elliot Griffin writes: "He who would understand twentieth-century Japan must know something of its roots in the soil of the past."¹ In order to understand the Issei, bushido needs to be understood.

Bushido is the way of knighthood. It literally means "military knight ways, or the precepts of knighthood." Bushido laid down the ways in which fighting nobles should live daily and spelled out how they should act in their vocations.²

While bushido was originally designed by and for the military class, it has pervaded and still pervades

¹Inazo Nitobe, Bushido, the Soul of Japan (Tokyo: Teibi, 1909), p. xxi.

²Ibid., p. 4.

Japanese culture.³ Like the Magna Carta and the Habeas Corpus Act, it undergirds Japanese culture and runs like a major motif through the life and heart of Japan. It is not a written code.⁴ Like unwritten laws, bushido continues to live and to influence the Japanese.

Bushido originated from various sources. From Confucianism it gained its five moral relations: master and servant, father and son, husband and wife, older and younger brother, friend and friend.⁵ From the Chinese philosopher Mencius it borrowed a sympathetic heart.⁶ From Buddhism the bushi or knight learned a calm trust in fate and from Zen Buddhism it learned to reach through meditation zones of thought beyond the range of verbal expression.⁷ From Shinto, bushido took a loyalty to the sovereign, reverence for ancestors, filial piety, and passivity in contrast to arrogance.⁸ Bushido was the way in which moral precepts were taught the Japanese of the Meiji era. It was taught in the homes and in the schools.⁹ To understand the Issei, it is very important.

³Hajime Hoshi, Japan, A Country Founded by Mother (Tokyo: Columbia University Club, 1937), p. 226.

⁴Nitobe, p. 5. ⁵Ibid., pp. 15-16.

⁶Ibid., p. 15. ⁷Ibid., p. 11.

⁸Ibid., p. 12 ⁹Ibid., preface ix.

The way of the knight is characterized by loyalty and filial piety and five cardinal virtues: benevolence, righteousness, courtesy, wisdom and faithfulness.¹⁰ In reference to the Issei, Horinouchi writes: "The principles of bushido, the warrior code of the samurai, cannot be overlooked. Most of the Japanese that immigrated to this country had these virtues of justice, courage, benevolence, politeness, truthfulness, honor, self-control, and perhaps most important, the sense of 'duty' and of 'right'.¹¹

The virtues are reflected in the oath of the knight:

1. We should not be inferior to others in bushido.
2. We should be loyal to our lord.
3. We should be obedient to our parents.
4. We should have mercy on others and do good to them.¹²

Loyalty and Filial Piety

As indicated by the oath of the samurai, loyalty to the lord and parents was paramount. The lord was the

¹⁰Hoshi, p. 226.

¹¹Isao Horinouchi, Educational Values and Preadaptation in the Acculturation of Japanese Americans (Sacramento: Sacramento Anthropological Society, Sacramento State College, 1967), p. 20.

¹²Tesshi Furukawa, "The Individual in Japanese Ethics," in Charles A. Moore (ed.) The Japanese Mind (Honolulu: East-West Center Press, 1967), p. 242.

reason for the samurai's living. "If one's lord is disgraced, it behooves him to throw his life away."¹³ For the samurai what the lord said was the law and the samurai did it without question.¹⁴ Though many of the Issei were not samurai, the lord was replaced by anyone in authority or the parent. What they said was the law and to disgrace them was shameful.

Confucian ethics placed priority on obedience to parents. Japan changed the obedience to loyalty. Bushido held that the interest of the family and of the individual in the family are the same--they were one and inseparable. When affection and duty conflicted, the samurai chose duty. If, on the other hand, loyalty to the lord or parent conflicted with his conscience, the samurai had the recourse of taking his own life.¹⁵ Loyalty to parents and the lord were primary. The Issei brought with them their loyalty which they transferred to anyone in authority and to the country.

Benevolence and Righteousness

The samurai never treated people with harshness.

¹³Hoshi, p. 229.

¹⁴John Toshimachi Imai, Bushido in Past and Present (Tokyo: Kanaguchi, Kanda, 1906), p. 11.

¹⁵Nitobe, pp. 84-93.

A typical samurai was expected to protect the weak against the strong.¹⁶ They borrowed this concept from Mencius who said, "Benevolence brings under its sway whatever hinders its power, just as water subdues fire: they only doubt the power of water to quench flames when they try to extinguish with a cupful a whole burning waggon (sic) load of faggots." The samurai felt that the feeling of distress is the root of benevolence and therefore were ever mindful of those who are suffering or in distress.¹⁷ Lying or equivocation were thought to be cowardly acts.¹⁸ When in the sixteenth century St. Francis Xavier set foot in Japan, he was amazed by the honesty of the Japanese.¹⁹ This value was kept through the Meiji era. The samurai was an honest man. They had a strong sense of 'right'. This virtue came to America with the Issei.

Courtesy was the mark of the samurai. Their codes of etiquette were extremely rigid.²⁰ They were disciplined in fortitude and politeness. The combination produced a stoical mind and foreigners tended to stereotype Japanese

¹⁶Hoshi, p. 231.

¹⁷Nitobe, pp. 42-43. ¹⁸Ibid., p. 62.

¹⁹Charles Boxer, The Christian Century in Japan (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1951), pp. 137-138.

²⁰Hoshi, p. 231.

as stoics. It was unmanly to betray his emotions on his face. The samurai could not embrace his son without losing his dignity and it was strictly forbidden for a husband to kiss his wife, especially in public.²¹ Emotions of any kind were to be brought under the discipline of the mind.

The rules of etiquette even applied to sleeping, usually flat on one's back with a small wooden pillow at the nape of the neck. The tea ceremony, art, and poetry became ways in which to discipline the soul. The exchanging of gifts were prescribed by the rules of etiquette. It was to be given in such a way as to say, "You are a nice person, and no gift is nice enough for you."²²

In relationships it was improper to impose one's negative feelings upon another and therefore the samurai would smile at illness which Nitobe calls "the repression of an aching heart;" and he would laugh as a way of suppressing sorrow or dispelling a painful experience from the consciousness.²³

Even in the act of benevolence, the samurai had aware-pity, but he did not shed a tear. Instead he looked unmoved and indifferent and then when there was no one to see him he would help the sufferer. In showing sympathy,

²¹Nitobe, pp. 103-105. ²²Ibid., p. 57.

²³Inazo Nitobe, Lectures on Japan (Tokyo: Kenkyusha, 1936), p. 114.

the samurai would only say a word or two to betray his feelings, then he would start to joke.²⁴

As a result of this kind of behavior Weston LaBarre says that the Japanese have a tendency toward secretiveness, hiding of emotions and attitudes. The Japanese he observes are extremely polite and ceremonious. But this masks the real emotion.²⁵

In the author's limited experience, he has seen many Issei men swallow feelings except for extreme anger. He did not see his mother and father touch each other until they were well into their sixties. He does not ever remember being hugged by his father, though his children are now hugged and kissed. In attending funerals, the author has seen Issei men on the verge of tears, but with great discipline and determination, with set jaws and clinched lips and bodies rigid to the point of shaking, they hold back their grief. To read the non-verbal expressions of the Issei is difficult because of this tendency.

²⁴Ibid.

²⁵Weston LaBarre, "Some Observations on Character Structure in the Orient," in Bernard S. Silverman (ed.) Japanese Character and Culture (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1962), p. 335.

Wisdom

Wisdom was a mark of a samurai who received education from childhood. He was compelled to study by his parents. It was considered shameful for him to have scant learning.²⁶ The acquisition of knowledge and its application were one of the foremost reasons why the Issei stressed the education of the Nisei who are probably the most highly educated of any ethnic group in the United States.

Faithfulness

This quality is to be differentiated from loyalty. It is to be thought of in terms of keeping promises. A samurai never went back on his word. He made a decision and stuck to it without wavering. He was drilled with the idea that when he chose a course of action even unto death, he had to go that way. He was taught "to die when it is right to die, to strike when to strike is right is the way of the samurai."²⁷

Other Virtues

Courage was important to the samurai. In Confucius'

²⁶Hoshi, p. 232.

²⁷Nitobe, Bushido, the Soul of Japan, p. 24.

words, courage is "perceiving what is right and doing it."²⁸ In the face of death the samurai said, "Bushido to wa shinukoto to mitsuketori" (Bushido consists in dying--that is the conclusion I have reached). Thus the Japanese was ever ready to lay down his life while concentrating on his task, taking all the responsibility upon himself at the peril of his own life, dedicating his life unconditionally to his master's service.²⁹

The following characteristics are listed without comment but serve as a summary of the characteristics of the samurai:

The samurai carries out good intentions with diligence.

The samurai's perseverance needs to be maintained all the days of his life even to death.

The samurai has unwavering fortitude in the face of death; he ought to be an "autumn spring water in a flash of crystal or like ice in a diamond cup."

The samurai keeps constancy under any condition of life.

The samurai is honest like "the pine tree which does not bend even when it reaches heaven; the orchid diffuses its scent even when there is no one to praise it."³⁰

Importance of name

Having a good name was important to the samurai for one's reputation was the immortal part of one's self.

²⁸Ibid., p. 29.

²⁹Furukawa, p. 232. ³⁰Imai, pp. 22-24.

An infringement upon the integrity of the name was felt as shame³¹ which was a motivating force for behaving. Ruth Benedict says of the Japanese that Japan is a shame culture and not a guilt culture. But Kosaka says that Japanese do have a consciousness of guilt.³² The author agrees with both but sees shame as being more primary than guilt as an incentive for behaving. The Issei had a strong tie to the family name and bred that concept of keeping the family name untinged by dishonor.

Results of Bushido on the Meiji Japanese

The result of bushido upon the Meiji Japanese was that the Japanese became a compulsive people. Any undertaking was carried through to the finish. The Japanese fly carps on Boys' Day. In addition to standing for long life, the carp stands for strength and determination. It is a fish that forces its way upstream in the face of opposition.³³

The compulsive character and the perseverance is seen in the toilet training of youngsters which starts at

³¹Nitobe, Bushido, the Soul of Japan, pp. 72-73.

³²Masaaki Kosaka, "The Status and the Role of the Individual in Japanese Society," in Moore (ed.) p. 281.

³³LaBarre, p. 337.

four months so that the child is fully trained by the time he is a toddler. LaBarre says that a characteristic of a compulsive personality is to have a very unstable and variable sense of worth of the self, owing to the severe struggle between the ego and the superego.³⁴ That struggle is certainly seen in the Issei in America who are caught between bushido and American patriotism, between individualism and the family.

Bushido had positive influence upon the Issei. Horinouchi points out that the "success of Japanese Americans was chiefly due to bushido":

Max Weber attempted to show that religious beliefs had a direct influence upon the economic development of the Western society. Weber contends that the theological doctrine which created an acute sense of uncertainty concerning salvation intensified the work habits and the asceticism of the parishioners. Puritan credo emphasized the virtue of hard work and success. The bushido code of the Issei fit with the Puritan ethic.³⁵

The Place of Women

Women in bushido were represented as being domestic. Her job was to feed, care for the children, and be a wife. From a very young age girls were trained to repress their feelings and to manipulate weapons for self defense. She

³⁴Ibid., pp. 337-338.

³⁵Horinouchi, p. 55.

was taught that as a daughter she needed to sacrifice herself for her father, as a wife for her husband, as a mother for the son. She was taught to deny herself. Chastity was a virtue and very much to be desired as were music, literature, and dance. Most importantly, the woman was to live a life of dependent service.³⁶

A psychiatrist of a Nisei woman who was diagnosed as schizophrenic described her mother as a pathologic mother. In the author's observation of the Issei woman, he would concur. Issei mothers, including the author's mother, lived their total lives around the children first, then around the husband. Their lives were lives of dependent service. They sacrificed and went to extremes to make sure their children were provided for and protected.

Bushido was for the Japanese the soul of his existence. It laid stress on rules of conduct which became the ethical code of the Japanese. Bushido was indeed the vehicle by which Japanese religious values were perpetuated. These values came to America via the Japanese immigrants and continues to affect the Nisei and Sansei.

³⁶Inazo Nitobe, The Japanese Nation (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1912), pp. 139-147.

CHAPTER III

THE BATTLEGROUND OF RELIGIOUS VALUES:
THE SECOND GENERATION JAPANESE AMERICANS,
THE NISEI

Because of isolation, the Japanese in America has kept intact values representing the Meiji Japanese era.¹ Thus, the religious values of the Issei are the same as those outlined in the prior chapters. Through the years these values have been reinforced by memory, through Japanese language schools, and other cultural institutions.

The children of the Issei, the Nisei, were born in America and were impacted by two value systems: Japan and the West. The battleground for these religious values is the life of the Nisei. What conflicts occur as a result of the confrontation of two systems? How do they manifest themselves? These are some of the questions which will be dealt with in this chapter.

In gathering data for this chapter eighteen persons were interviewed. They ranged in age from 18 through 56. There were 10 males and 8 females. Though connected with a Christian church, six considered themselves non-Christians.

¹Harry H. L. Kitano, Japanese-American--The Evolution of a Subculture (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1968), p. 78.

There are seven couples in the sample.

The interview was conducted face to face. Each session lasted for 45 minutes, the conversation was either taped, or extensive notes were taken. The following is the format used for the interview:

INTERVIEW FORMAT

Name _____

Age _____ Marital Status: Single _____ Married _____ Divorced _____
 Issei _____ Nisei _____ Sansei _____

Christian _____ Buddhist _____ Other _____

If married, is spouse Christian _____ Buddhist _____ Other _____

Parents' religion Buddhist _____ Christian _____ Other _____

Number of children in your family _____

Your place in the family _____

1. What part did your parents play in the selection of your mate?
2. If a mixed (interfaith) marriage: Why did you marry outside your faith? What were your parents' feelings about your marriage? What did your priest or pastor say? What are your present feelings about your marriage? Where were you married? What do you believe the church/temple teaches about intermarriage? What pressures or tensions arise from your mixed marriage?
3. What responsibilities do you believe the oldest child in the family has? How does this differ from what you know about the hakujin (Anglo-American) family?
4. What importance do you place on your family name? Do you feel that the hakujin places the same emphasis on the family name?
5. In America which is more important, the family or the individual?
6. How did you choose your occupation? How much influence did your parents have on your choice?
7. What is the role of women in your home? What do you feel about woman's liberation?

8. What does on mean to you? How do you carry out your obligations to people who do favors for you? How long does on continue? Do your parents still practice on? What do you feel about their practices?
9. What are your feelings about Japan? What are your parents' feelings? Do either your parents or your feelings conflict with American patriotism? If so, how?
10. What festivals do you celebrate? New Year's? Boys' Day? Girls' Day? Hanamatsuri? Christmas? Easter? How do you justify the celebration of Shinto and Buddhist festivals with the Christian faith?
11. When you go to a Buddhist funeral, do you burn incense? If you do, why? If you do not, why not?
12. As a child, did your parents practice yaito? acupuncture? Do your parents practice nishishiki? What are your feelings about the practice of these folk medicines?
13. How superstitious are you or your parents? Did your parents or you have any kind of charms to ward off evil spirits?
14. How do you express anger? What did your parents teach you about anger? How do you express your feelings? How do you feel the hakujins express their feelings? How does this make you feel?
15. Would you prefer your children to marry within the race?

Most of the questions deal with filial piety because this is a cornerstone of Japanese behavior and Nisei behavior. Other values examined and the questions related to them are: closeness of man, gods and nature (questions 14, 15); the relationship of Japanese religion and the Japanese nation (questions 10-15); and the syncretistic nature of Japanese religion (question 2).

Filial Piety Vs. Individualism

"Filial piety is thought of by the Japanese as the core of all morality. It is not mere obedience to the parents. Parents sacrifice their all for the benefit of their children, therefore, children must appreciate this spirit of self-sacrifice and do their best not only to obey their parents but also to make them happy."² This has carried over to the Nisei.

America on the other hand stresses individualism. Americans think for themselves, do for themselves and stress individual participation in democracy. All this stems from the Protestant ethic.

Harry Kitano observes:

There was one potential source of conflict between Christianity and Japanese culture. This was the Christian emphasis on individualism, which, on the surface of things, would seem to be incongruent with the group emphasis of Japanese social principles. But, because within the cohesive Japanese community lay an inherent competitiveness, the apparent philosophical incongruence provided no real practical difference.³

In the survey conducted for this dissertation Kitano's initial observation would be affirmed and his conclusion denied, for the Nisei are caught in the tension between the

²Mildred Doi Kosaki, "The Culture Conflicts and Guidance Needs of Nisei Adolescents," an unpublished M.Ed. dissertation, University of Hawaii, August 1949, p. 12.

³Kitano, p. 4.

family and individualism. For example, in one family the wife espoused individualism while the husband stressed the family. Here is a segment of the interview:

wife:

For me individual, but in my family it was the family. My father was broad minded so he let me be an individual. My mother was Japanese!

husband:

In my thinking the family is more important.

Interviewer:

In your family which is more important, the individual or the family?

wife:

For me the family.

husband:

As a rule it is the family, but with the third child, it's the individual.

This tension is unresolved here. It was unresolved in all the families interviewed. Some individuals expressed guilt when they decided to be an individual and do what they wanted in deference to the family, others were generally confused. With few exceptions the idea of being an individual apart from the family was difficult to accept.

The role of the parents of the Nisei has played an important part in the psyche of the Nisei. Most of the people interviewed were married late (around 25). Even at that point they felt they had to get the approval of their parents. If the parents did not approve of their choice, they did not get married. One female interviewee says, "I wanted to get married to _____, but my parents objected and

so we didn't get married." She also did not get married until they had become economically stable.

The importance of the go-between or the baishakudin in marriages was a custom brought over by the Issei. Its importance is seen in filial piety and the influence of the parents' values on the Nisei. Almost all the Nisei interviewed had baishakudin for their marriages. They did not know the significance of this custom, but did it merely to please their parents. One function of the go-between was to insure the success of a marriage. If the couple did not get along after marriage, they would be prevented from divorce by three factors: their respective parents and the go-between. If they divorced they would shame all three parties. But the Nisei only performed this custom as a formality. Making the parents happy was one of the most important things children could do. Thus the bowing to customs by the Nisei.

In America there is the underlying value that the citizen be motivated by respect for personality and to have a positive attitude toward people. There is a recognition of the worth of each person. The Issei tended to pay more attention to the boys since they carried on the family name. The stress on filial piety and ancestor worship did not contribute to the realization of one's worth.⁴

⁴Ibid., pp. 81-84.

The oldest son felt the burden of filial piety more than the other children. The oldest child had prestige but with it came responsibility. The oldest, by post adolescence had psychological responsibility for the parent.⁵ Among those surveyed there were four oldest sons. Each felt a strong responsibility for their parents and younger siblings. The perception of the younger siblings in the sampling was that the oldest child did have a great deal of responsibility. There is one notable difference between the traditional Meiji Japanese value placed on the oldest son, and the Issei; the Issei when they did not have an oldest son, usually placed the responsibility on the oldest child.

In two of the cases, the oldest sons rebelled in terms of vocation and living in the vicinity of their parents' home. But even though rebellious they still felt a responsibility for their parents' welfare. This consisted in their sending money home regularly. Mildred Kosaki makes the following observation from her study of Nisei adolescents: "Making parents happy means economic support--which fell on the shoulders of the eldest son in

⁵George DeVos, "Acculturation and Personality Structure: A Rorschach Study of Japanese Americans," an unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1951, p. 37.

the family.⁶ The eldest son was caught in the bind of the demands placed on him by societal and cultural and religious value systems of Japan and the Christian democratic practice of everyone fending for himself. It is interesting to note that 16 of the 18 persons interviewed indicated that they did not see the hakujin families placing as much prestige and responsibility upon the oldest son as did the Japanese.

The importance of the family name is another indicator of the tension between filial piety and individualism. It also ties with ancestor worship. The family name is the incorporation of all the ancestors of history. Therefore the purity and the integrity of the family had to be preserved by keeping the family name untarnished. Furthermore, it was important that the members of the family maintained the good name of the family and brought to it respectability.⁷

Most of the Nisei have tried to get away from this value, but have not succeeded. Almost all those interviewed confirmed that they were reared thinking it was essential to preserve the integrity of the family name and to give it honor. But they did not stress it to their children. Again the Nisei's perception of the hakujin family was that they did not place as much importance upon

⁶Kosaki, pp. 39-40. ⁷Ibid., p. 53.

the family name.

Western Christian eschatology is not tied to ancestors; it is highly individual based upon merit or grace. What one does or believes is the way one gets to heaven. But Japanese religion is social; that is, what one person does to honor the family, honors all the family living and dead; what one does to dishonor the family dishonors the ancestors past and present. The Nisei were compelled to excel and thus to honor their ancestors.

With regard to the practice of on most of those interviewed were not familiar with it until it was explained. Then everyone said their parents practiced on and that to some extent they themselves did. Many said they wanted to get away from it and only carry it on with their relatives. Others wanted to get away from it all together because it was a "drag". They laughed at their parents who continue this practice to the nth degree. Still, the Nisei feels the obligation (giri) to his family, and to the community, both of which keep him from deviant behavior.⁸

Role of Women: East and West

The Nisei home is very much like the American—

⁸Kitano, p. 67.

oriented around the man. The father is the head of the family and usually directs the family group. The mother is considered a servant to her husband and in that sense he is her lord and master.⁹ It was this way in the Issei home, and to some degree in the Nisei home. Tinker, a sociologist, makes the following observation:

The Japanese-American family, even today, is more vertically structured and male dominated than comparable middle class WASP families. The Japanese-American female obviously resents this position and many marital conflicts arise from these differences in expectation.¹⁰

With the push of women's liberation, the Nisei women informants seemed to be dissatisfied with their roles. The men said, "No" to women's liberation. But the women, while not going along with women's liberation, totally are captivated with equality of the sexes which women's liberation espouses. Still however, the bushido and filial piety play the major role in the lives of women in the Nisei household.

The Relationship of Japanese Religion and the Japanese Nation Vs. American Patriotism

The relationship of Japan and Japanese religion was

⁹Ibid., pp. 44-45.

¹⁰John N. Tinker, "Intermarriage and Ethnic Boundaries: The Japanese American Case," Journal of Social Issues XXIX:2 (1973), 56-57.

not one which caused a great deal of tension. The Issei felt that worship of the emperor and the nation was their religious act. The Nisei took Japanese patriotism and linked it with American Civil Religion, which Bellah calls "Americanity" and a third force alongside Christianity and Judaism. He described it as "semisecular, unofficial but characteristic religion to which most Americans appeal... It is the religion that most Americans feel when they feel any religion at all."¹¹

The Japanese American and especially the Nisei who volunteered for or were drafted into the U. S. Army during World War II are very patriotic.

The interviewees all felt that America was their country. Japan was a place to visit, but not one in which to live. However, at some point in the life of every Nisei, he becomes aware of the fact that he is different from other Americans. This knowledge that he is of Japanese ancestry causes them to look at their predicament with mixed feelings: inferiority, envy, appreciation.¹²

¹¹ Robert N. Bellah as quoted in Ralph L. Moellering, "Civil Religion, the Nixon Theology and the Watergate Scandal," Christian Century, XC: 34 (1973), 947.

¹² Eugene S. Uyeki, "Process and Patterns of Nisei Adjustment to Chicago," an unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, December 1963, p. 41.

When examined about their feelings of their children out-marrying, almost every person felt that they wanted their children to marry within the race. One person felt that the Japanese in America were "one or two down anyway" and that the children would suffer more if they were products of out-marriages. Others felt that they wanted to have their children marry within the race because they wanted to keep the race pure, which is called Yamato Damashii (Japanese are superior). This stems back to the feelings about Japan being divine.

One interviewee in answering the question regarding the importance of the name, indicated that he wanted his children to behave not only to protect the family name, but also to honor the Japanese race. He illustrated by telling the shame he felt when a Sansei recently was caught in a doctor's home and then held hostage the doctor's son. That Sansei, he felt, dishonored all Japanese.

The Nisei feel a strange combination of hatred, fear, and pride of their heritage as Japanese Americans--hatred because of the fact that they are different, fear of what the majority will do to Japanese Americans in the case of new hostilities developing between Japan and America, and pride in their heritage of being Japanese in ancestry. At the same time they are proponents of American Civil Religion.

Out-marriages also illustrate the feelings about the essential value differences between Japan and America. In Japan the marriage is of families, this is what the Issei understood. On the other hand, in America it is the marriage of individuals. When an out-marriage occurs, the race is tarnished and mixed. There is the fear among the Nisei that when there is an interracial marriage, the values of the Japanese will be lost. Also marriage in Japanese culture was arranged because it was economically feasible and sociologically more beneficial. In America marriage is supposedly out of romantic love. These values conflict and cause problems.

The Closeness of Man, Gods and Nature in Japanese Religion, Vs. the Transcendant God and Nature to be Subdued

The Nisei exhibit westerning and acculturation as they have become technologists and exploiters of nature. Even though many Japanese Americans have Japanese gardens in their backyards, their front hedges may be clipped and squared off. The Nisei practice bonsai (dwarf trees) and ikebana (flower arrangement) but at the same time are captivated by being dominant over nature.

Because those questioned were related to a Christian church, their answers did not reflect the ancestor worship of their parents, but a Western theology

that there is a god somewhere who is looking after them. However, a noticeable strain among Japanese Christians which can be attributed to the influence of Japanese Buddhism is fatalism (shigatanai). The feeling of "it can't be helped" was prevalent among those interviewed. That feeling leads to one of resignation to any circumstance.

The Nisei celebrate many of the festivals observed by the Japanese. Those who took part in the survey all celebrated New Year's Day with the traditional family celebration centered around food for the new year. Most of those questioned celebrated Boys' Day with rice cakes and the flying of the carp. Only a few celebrated Girls' Day. When asked if they found any difficulty justifying their celebration with Christianity, they said, "no". In fact they did not recognize the religious nature of the Japanese festivals, which had become traditional family occasions.

Religion as a part of life for those who were not Christian meant that religion was to live a good life and to believe in God, in whom most of the non-Christians believed. They were not so much concerned with the rituals of Christianity. On the other hand the Christian interviewees were concerned with religious ritual.

Syncretistic Nature of Japanese Buddhism Vs. the Exclusive-
ness of Christianity

Both the Issei and the Nisei have been reared with the notion of tolerance of other religions. Religion in the American sense of Sunday School attendance, belief in a single faith and relative intolerance of other faiths was alien to the Japanese. In general the Nisei are tolerant of all theologies and have not institutionalized religion.¹³ The following quotation from the dissertation written by Eugene Uyeki illustrates the syncretistic character of the Nisei:

The following is from one of Uyeki's informants:

Nothing is wrong about Buddhism. It is a very flexible and adaptable religion, and it fits my needs quite well. Nonetheless, knowing how people regard the Buddhists as having been pro-Japanese, my wife and I have both discussed quite seriously placing our child in a Christian religion. This is the topic of much discussion among other Bussei's (young Buddhists) who are faced with the prospect of having to choose a church for their children. I personally feel that the Christian religion must have just as much to offer as Buddhism, and I also feel that it is righteous. My wife and I have often pondered about the possible consequences to our girl when she goes to a different church from her playmates who are all Caucasian here.¹⁴

It was not unusual for a Japanese American family to have within it Buddhists, Shinto, and Christians. It was not unusual for one person to have three loyalties, especially among the Issei. In fact some Issei homes had

¹³Kitano, p. 85. ¹⁴Uyeki, p. 167.

within them a butsudan, a kamidana, and a crucifix or cross.

However conflict occurred when the exclusiveness of Christianity based upon "I am the way, and the truth and the life, no one comes to the Father but by me,"¹⁵ came into confrontation with this tolerance.

The conflict was more for the Nisei than the Issei, and more for the Christian than the non-Christian. One of the non-Christians interviewed said that to him it didn't matter what religion his fiancee professed, it was only what she did that counted. None of the parents of any interviewed objected to marriages on the grounds of religion. In fact the Isseis sent their children to Christian Sunday Schools to make them good citizens or, like Uyeki's informant, for the good of their children.

The conflict of Christianity and Japanese religion is illustrated in the following from the dissertation by Kosaki:

Even in my own family, we've had conflict because of religion. The four oldest in my family are Buddhists, my youngest sister and brother go to the Crossroads (Congregationalist), my oldest sister goes to Holy Trinity (Episcopalian). My parents couldn't conceive of a religion so domineering that made it impossible for a follower to attend the Japanese funeral rites.¹⁶

The conflict of Christianity and Japanese religion appears in interfaith marriages. Here it is not so much

¹⁵John 14:3 (R.S.V.)

¹⁶Kosaki, p. 70.

the exclusiveness of Christianity that is at issue but the need of the Christian to convert the non-Christian. This was a source of tension for several of the couples in interfaith marriages.

The following is an excerpt from an interview:

wife:

At the beginning I had conflict because I always said that whenever I married I'd marry a Christian. But no one came along until _____ and it seemed like God had chosen him for me. I prayed a lot about it, and he seemed to be the right answer. I felt guilty though because the church had raised me with the idea: "Be ye not unequally yoked."

Interviewer:

Have you felt any tension over the six years?

husband:

I had mixed emotions. Since I'm not religious, spending so much time at church took away time from me. On the other hand, I wanted someone with some religious convictions, so that we could pass it on to our children...for the benefit of our children.

Interviewer:

So you were ready to put up with it?

husband:

Hmmmmmm.....

wife:

To some extent, Ha! (laughter)

Interviewer:

Since being in Bible Study, you've had another view of Christianity than the exclusive view that you grew up with; what's happening to you now?

wife:

I still feel guilty at times because I'm not doing daily Bible readings, and I'm not helping, and I'm not witnessing like I was told to do. But also I have a better feeling about _____ and because I'm

at peace and I know that what I do doesn't make me a Christian.

Here is illustrated the tension that so many persons in interfaith marriages face. In this case the Christian was introduced to an accepting view of other religions with another understanding of grace which has helped her to deal with the tensions that come out of an interfaith marriage.

However in other cases people live on two levels of consciousness. They live schizophrenic lives. On the one hand living with, and preaching, exclusive religion; and on the other, tolerating the religion of their parents. One of the consequences of living in this duality is that the persons live in a cloud of guilt, feeling that they have failed or are failing, because they have not converted their parents or non-Christian spouses. Sometimes the Christian partner in the interfaith marriage lives in fear that when they die they will not be together in heaven.

The funeral and memorial services are important to the Japanese Americans. At the Buddhist funeral there is the practice of burning incense as a tribute to the deceased. When questioned about this practice, the interviewees gave varying answers. Some said they would participate in the ritual without questioning its validity. They did it out of respect for the deceased and the family. There were others who would not practice it because it was

against their religious convictions. These felt some anxiety, especially feeling that they might hurt the family of the deceased. But they were willing to risk that as a "witness to their faith."

In a few of the Christian families interviewed, they practiced annually memorializing their deceased parents by burning a candle before their pictures or placing tea or fruit before the pictures. But this was the exception rather than the rule.

In all cases there was the tug and push of the tension caused by the exclusiveness of Christianity and the syncretistic nature of Japanese religion. Most of those interviewed lived dualistic lives, on one level exclusive and on the other tolerant, and feeling guilty.

Bushido: The Suppression of Feeling Vs. America: The Freedom of Expression

The code of bushido affected the Nisei man far more than the woman. The effect appears in the expression of feelings. In almost every case the Nisei man felt that he could not express his feelings. It was legitimate for him to express his anger at home, but outside it was not. The following is an example:

Interviewer:

How did your parents express anger and how do you?

Man:

My dad used to do it with his eyes. Once in a great while he used to spank with his fist. He had an aversion of slapping because he came up through the ranks of the Japanese Army where slapping was used all the time. He spanked, but only did that once...

With my kids I carried it somewhat to the same degree. If they misbehaved, I made them sit in the corner even when they went to high school. When someone did wrong, I didn't punish the oldest, like I used to get it, but I'd punish all. I'd get a ping-pong paddle and kind of hold back and pop, pop, pop.

Interviewer:

How often did you express your anger?

Man:

Quite often.

Interviewer:

How did you feel?

Man:

A lot of it was shibai (putting on, acting).

Interviewer:

Did you feel free to express other feelings?

Man:

In public I would not express myself. I wouldn't speak up if I had negative or positive feelings. I was what Japanese call uchibenke (strong at home). But I justified that by saying if you can't be strong at home, you can't be outside.

The interviewee now expresses his feelings quite openly. But others still have difficulty. When it comes to grief, for all the men it was not permissible to exhibit. The preference was not to show any emotions at all but to maintain a poker face. When asked how they (the men) felt about the way in which the hakujin express their feelings,

they replied that they wished they could express themselves as freely. The following is a continuation of the preceding interview:

Interviewer:

When you compare yourself with hakujin society, and the way they express themselves, what kind of feelings did you have?

Man:

Hakujin were more open, they could take criticism, especially when I got into Boy Scouts. They could fight and argue and after the meeting was over they can have beer together. That floored me. In Japanese meetings we couldn't. Once we had words that was it.

Interviewer:

Did you feel inferior to hakujins?

Man:

During high school I felt many times I wish I were hakujin. I felt inferior. Even though our high school group was mixed.

The women on the other hand did not feel inferior to the hakujin. In almost every case the women felt that they did not experience uncomfortableness in their expression of feelings. They did not express their anger openly in public, but grief they did. The Nisei women in the sampling felt better about themselves than the men.

The Nisei is indeed a battleground for religious values from two cultures. The Nisei have coped well with the tensions and conflicts. But they have the tendency to live schizoid existences, reserved, withdrawn, and introverted. Because of the dominant culture, they live with some paranoia and a great deal of inferiority. Since many

of the characteristics exhibited stem from religious issues, they may be worked with sociologically and psychologically, but perhaps best when the religious questions are dealt with. The following chapters will deal with the analysis of Japanese-American personality resulting from the value conflicts and relate pastoral counseling to them.

CHAPTER IV

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF THE NISEI

The Nisei is caught in the conflict of two value systems. The Issei consciously and unconsciously transmitted the cultural values of the Tokugawa and Meiji periods to their children. The Tokugawa era stressed the ethical principles of Confucianism. These principles focused on the family and the feudal lords. The Meiji period took these principles and modified them to accommodate a nationalistic spirit centering in the emperor who was regarded as a direct descendant of the gods.¹ So the Nisei found themselves exposed to the culture of Japan as interpreted by their parents, to the culture of some portions of the United States as seen through their parent's eyes, and as soon as they became mobile, to the determinants of the American pattern that they encountered.²

¹Isao Horinouchi, Educational Values and Preadaptation in the Acculturation of Japanese Americans (Sacramento: Sacramento Anthropological Society, Sacramento State College, 1967), p. 4.

²Charlotte G. Babcock, "Reflections on Dependency Phenomena as seen in Nisei in the United States," in Robert J. Smith and Richard K. Beardsley (eds.) Japanese Culture, Its Development and Characteristics (Chicago: Adine, 1962), p. 172.

Mildred Kosaki observed that the children of immigrant parents generally experience culture conflicts from situations in which groups with divergent cultural patterns are thrown into intimate association with each other.³ What happens then is recorded by Stuart Alfred Queen:

Cultural disorganization produces a crisis...which may lead to personal maladaptation and demoralization, or, if positive and satisfying accommodation are effected to reconstruction. The crisis is characterized by temporary non-adjustment to the situation and non-organization of personality. This is a period of confusion, bewilderment and indecision for the individual...There is often a decided loss of assurance, a sense of futility, and a feeling of inferiority... There may be an attitude of fatalism, resentment, and bitterness against society...emotions of all sorts are heightened.⁴

The Nisei exhibit almost all the traits listed. The problems of the Nisei were accentuated by language, religion, tradition and customs.⁵ The European immigrants had an easier time, especially because they shared the same religion, tradition and customs of America. For the Nisei the problems took the form of cultural disorganization

³Mildred Doi Kosaki, "The Culture Conflicts and Guidance Needs of Nisei Adolescents," an unpublished M.Ed. thesis, University of Hawaii, August 1949, pp. 1-2.

⁴Stuart Alfred Queen, Walter Blain Bodenhofer and Ernest Boudlin Harper, Social Organization and Disorganization (New York: Crowell, 1935), p. 555.

⁵Kosaki, p. 5.

which became critical because parents and children were involved.

Bushido and filial piety were the two most influential elements in the life of the Nisei. Bushido gave an impetus toward hard work and this fitted with the Protestant work ethic. Bushido more than anything else contributed toward the Nisei's rapid rise to the middle class. However, bushido and filial piety also have been primary contributors to the cultural disorganization which the Nisei experienced. As the Nisei coped with American society which stressed free expression and individualism, the Nisei suffered feelings of inferiority, bewilderment, indecision, and general confusion.

As a result of the culture conflict the Nisei tended to become schizoid in his behavior. Japanese ethical values which taught discipline, self-control, resignation,⁶ led to the symptoms of a schizoid personality:

Shyness, hypersensitivity, seclusiveness, frequent day-dreaming, avoidance of close or competitive relationships, detachment, inability to express hostility and ordinary aggressive feelings, and often eccentric behavior.⁷

and also of schizoidism:

⁶Harry H. L. Kitano, Japanese-American--The Evolution of a Subculture (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1968), p. 107.

⁷Leland E. Hinsie and Robert J. Campbell, Psychiatric Dictionary (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), p. 557.

The aggregate of personality traits known as introversion, namely, quietness, seclusiveness, 'shut-in-ness'. The schizoid person splits or separates from his surroundings to a greater or lesser degree, confining his psychic interests more or less to himself.⁸

Researchers of Japanese Americans allude to the schizoid tendencies of the Japanese Americans and particularly the Nisei male.

Babcock says that Nisei men deal with their feelings of dependency by denial, passive withdrawal, painful guilt, intense anger masochistically concealed or passively expressed.⁹ Another researcher describes the Nisei character "at its best" as cathartic management and control over the suppression of spontaneity, emotionalism and inappropriate expressiveness.¹⁰

When caught in the conflict between religious values, the Nisei withdraws and becomes what so many have observed as stereotypic: reserved, pleasant, indecisive, insecure, obedient, and cliquish.¹¹

⁸Ibid., p. 678. ⁹Babcock, p. 180.

¹⁰Stanford Lyman, Generation and Character: The Case of the Japanese Americans," Amy Tachiki, Eddie Wong, Franklin Odo (eds.) Roots (Los Angeles: UCLA Asian American Studies Center, 1971), p. 51.

¹¹Paul M. Nagano, "Japanese Americans' Search for Identity, Ethnic Pluralism, and a Christian Basis of Permanent Identity," an unpublished D.Rel. dissertation, School of Theology at Claremont, June 1970, p. 85.

DeVos in his Rorschach studies found that in comparison to the Caucasian American the Nisei male seemed less able to be self assertive. "He showed a tendency toward passive conformity leading to a certain amount of self-depreciation."¹²

A consequence of schizoidism is what Kitano calls the enryo (there is no accurate translation) syndrome which is exhibited in hesitancy to speak at meetings, refusal of record keeping, refusal of first invitations, the acceptance of the less desirable object when given a choice, lack of verbal participation in integrated groups, refusal to ask questions, an inscrutable face, non-committal answers and behavioral reserve.¹³

DeVos says that frustration, anxiety, and fear resulting from conflicts about conformity are handled by suppression, withdrawal, and limitation of expression of all emotions.¹⁴ The hiding of feelings is seen in patterns of speech in which circumlocutions and indirectness are regular features of conversations and which serve to hold down one's own feelings and prevent the eruption of

¹²George DeVos, "Acculturation and Personality Structure: A Rorschach Study of Japanese Americans," an unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1951, p. 41.

¹³Kitano, p. 105.

¹⁴DeVos, p. 38.

another's.¹⁵

The Nisei have alienated their feelings from their actions. Thus they appear to be non-feeling persons. The schizoidism often manifests itself in schizophrenia which is the most common mental illness found among Nisei. The common behaviors indicating mental illness are hearing voices, emotional weeping, heightened irritability, loss of toilet control and withdrawal.¹⁶ Because mental illness is not socially allowed, the Nisei's emotional problems may often be manifested in hypochondriasis and psychosomatic problems like stomach aches, headaches, and forgetfulness.

Feelings of dependency from the need to amaeru and to receive amae are also present in the Nisei and lead to schizoidism. Dependency is an ongoing process active throughout life. These dependency needs are not instructional but are conditions for feeling loved and for loving. This need was bred in the Nisei and often the Nisei adjusted to the culture of the United States at the cost of the conflict over dependency.¹⁷ The following example illustrates the outcome of dependency:

¹⁵Lyman, p. 53.

¹⁶Harry H. L. Kitano, "Japanese American Mental Illness," in Stanley C. Plog and Robert B. Edgerton (eds.) Changing Perspectives in Mental Illness (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1969), pp. 261, 262.

¹⁷Babcock, pp. 173-180.

"I can't do it" was a statement of fear, helplessness, and the great personal pain of inadequacy, as reflected through the internalized egos of the Japanese parent and society, but that it was also a statement of rebellion against having to fulfill the life process nature of dependency demands expressed in "I don't want to do it, but I can." Because the Japanese has developed skill with face saving devices and because the young Nisei had internalized some of the cross culturally determined defense of the ego of his parents in the U.S., he was to use the now internalized command, "But I've got to, regardless," and translate it into some kind of ego activity more useful than destructive.¹⁸

In other words, amae and amaeru led the Nisei to become compulsive. The compulsiveness of the Nisei is seen in his determined effort to get the best schooling and to make it in middle class American society. The valor of the 442nd Infantry Regiment and the 100th Infantry Battalion in World War II indicate the determination of the Nisei to "make good". In achieving middle class standards the Nisei have worked hard, often as many as eighteen hours a day. The price has been high: the restlessness of the Sansei, unsatisfactory marriages, and often early deaths.

Mental illness among the Japanese Americans has not been a common occurrence. Two factors may account for this: the extended family may tolerate deviant behavior more than the Anglo American family and, therefore, mental illness will not surface as frequently as in the rest of American

¹⁸Ibid., p. 183.

society. The extended family will hide, ignore, or tolerate mental illness. On the other hand, the reason for the low incidence of mental illness among Japanese Americans may be because the Japanese behave autoplastically. They resolve the conflicts through internalization or modification of one's own behavior. The Nisei also had a low degree of acting out and a high degree of withdrawal.¹⁹

The confrontation of religious values had ramifications on the relationships within the family. As has already been indicated in the prior chapter, the Nisei women are becoming increasingly dissatisfied with their status as housewives and mothers. They have learned the Anglo American way of communicating faster than the men, and this has also caused more dissatisfaction. The dissatisfaction manifests in complaints about the husband's inability to express feelings.

Marriages are strained because of the lack of adequate models for communicating. The family structure of the Issei was built on economic or social bases. The Issei rarely married for love. Their marriages were arranged in either face-to-face meetings, or through the exchange of photographs. But these marriages lasted because of societal pressures and a different view of marriage.

¹⁹Kitano, "Japanese American Mental Illness," p. 268.

The Nisei were impacted by western values and married because of "love". In the marital relationship they practiced the type of relationship which had been modeled by their parents. But not having the commitment of their parents, conflicts developed.

A Japanese American psychiatrist depicted the situation in the Issei family as being one in which the father gave commands and the mother took them. The father worked and the mother took care of the children. There was rare communication between husband and wife, between father and children. The Nisei following this model rarely communicated with their wives or children. The Nisei men were comfortable talking to other men and women, but not with their wives; likewise, the women could talk to other women and men, but not to their husbands. Communication patterns in the Nisei homes have been less than desirable.²⁰ Therefore, relationships have been strained in many Nisei families.

It is interesting to note that while in the Japanese family the father ruled, it is more than likely in the Nisei family that the mother rules. She is the one who

²⁰Dr. Edward Himeno in an address to the East Los Angeles Japanese American Citizen's League, May 1972.

makes the decisions.²¹ When asked who rules the household, the woman will always answer, "Father". But she ends up making the decisions, disciplining the children, and when faced with a decision she doesn't like, she will control the situation by passive aggressive ploys.

Because of the lack of an adequate model for the father role, the father rarely plays with the children. If he has a son, the father will urge his child to be a good athlete. He will take out his wish to be an athlete vicariously through his son. In most instances the child will turn to his mother for advice or consolation.

Out of this kind of family relationship what happens to the Sansei? The Sansei are persons who avoid abstract approaches, have a low tolerance for ambiguity, like structure, tend to evaluate ideas on the basis of immediate practical application; they seem to relate to cultural patterns stressing well defined role expectations, they like formality in interpersonal relationships, adhere to family tradition and familial emphasis on pragmatism.²² They are a restless generation searching for identity.

²¹Ibid.

²²Derald W. Sue and Austin C. Frank, "A Typological Approach to the Psychological Study of Chinese and Japanese American College Males," Journal of Social Issues, XXIX:2 (1973), 141.

They are searching for values which they feel are authentic and which will give them meaningful identity.

Another manifestation of the clash in religious values is seen in the paranoia of the Japanese Americans. The Japanese Americans are suspicious of America because they were herded into internment camps during World War II for being Japanese and suffered the horrible indignities of concentration camps. In the case of the Japanese Americans the paranoia is warranted. Indicative of this feeling is a mother who called a minister friend to ask about an Asian American newspaper which was Maoist oriented. She did not want her daughter subscribing to the paper because she said, "If we should have another world war, and if it should involve Japan, and the officials find out that my daughter subscribed to the paper, it would make it difficult for her."

A male interviewee felt that he wanted his children to marry within the race because they already have two strikes against them for being Japanese. To out-marry would add a third strike.

The Nisei are paranoid because of racism in American society. Yet most of the Nisei are middle class conservative Republicans who claim a strong loyalty to America.

Accompanying this feeling of paranoia are feelings

of inferiority which comes from the inability to express feelings, of being told throughout their lives that they are different, and of being the victims of prejudice. The feelings of inferiority are so strong that the Nisei have built up myths about the hakujin being smarter than they and more sociable than they. The lack of trust in the majority is seen in the tendency of the Southern California Nisei to feel that they have to go to a Japanese American doctor, optometrist, or dentist; patronize only Japanese businesses; and belong to Japanese American organizations.

The chief psychological tendency of the Nisei is schizoidism. This is manifested in withdrawnness, shyness, pleasant facade, inferiority, and when aggravated, heightened sensitivity. Schizoidism comes in part from the clash between values imported and transferred to the Nisei from their Issei parents, and from Western Christian values in the Western world in which they were reared. The culture conflict results in tension which is manifested in a schizoid personality.

CHAPTER V

PASTORAL COUNSELING WITH THE NISEI

Religious values are ultimate values which stand at the center of personality and culture.¹ If this is so then there can be no contradiction in ultimate values because with the ultimate there is only wholeness. It is in the human perceptions of the ultimate that conflicts occur. When the perceptions of ultimate values cause conflict, the role of pastoral counseling becomes very important.

Counseling deals with values. The counselor has his values and the counselee his.² The pastor as counselor is no different. He will counsel with his set of values. It is essential that the pastoral counselor know what values he brings to counseling. It is also necessary to know what internal value conflicts he faces and has faced.

In cross cultural counseling, it is well for the counselor to share his values with the counselee but not to impose them on the counselee. This is a difficult task. It is one of the functions of counseling to teach "values",

¹John A. Hutchison, "American Values in the Perspective of Faith," in Donald R. Barrett (ed.) Values in America (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1961), p. 126.

²C. H. Patterson, Theories of Counseling and Psychotherapy (New York: Harper & Row, 1973), p. 73.

but the counselor must be aware of the risk of imposing values upon the counselee. The counselor needs to enable the counselee to develop tools to find his own values. The counselor must not deprive the counselee of his right to and responsibility for self determination.³

One of the tasks of pastoral counseling is education. A psychologist has said that "the purpose of education in Western society is to actualize the good and to minimize the evils in man's potentiality...Indeed in all human societies, education is a necessary means to helping him actualize himself fully."⁴ It is the same in pastoral counseling. Put theologically it is to educate people to know what it means to be children of God and to live in the image of God. In the words of the Apostle Paul the task of education is to learn to "fulfill the glory of God."⁵

When counseling the Nisei, the Christian pastoral counselor will need to take a look at the exclusiveness and judgmental stance of Christianity. Exclusiveness of Christianity often excludes other religions and their practices and, therefore, may be a hindrance to the pastoral care of the Nisei. What should be developed is

³Ibid., p. 18. ⁴Ibid., p. 12.

⁵A free interpretation of Romans 3:21-26.

an open and accepting stance toward other religions. The pastoral counselor will need an understanding of and appreciation for the values which come from Japanese religion.

In an article called "A Cosmological Christology," Organ encourages Christians to get rid of exclusivistic Christology, and to accept a cosmological Christology which would affirm that to be acceptable to God everyone does not have to be Christian. He argues that Christianity does not have a monopoly on messiahs, bodhisattvas, and avatars. Furthermore, he maintains, redemption has always been a fact about the total environment. Jesus Christ is for all Christians the celebration of God's continuing saving love. Organ says that God does not leave himself without witness in other lands.⁶

It is important that the pastoral counselor with Nisei realize that God is God, beyond us and beyond our conceptualization. God is God by whatever name he or she is called. The word is not important. He or she is beyond words. John McQuarrie says:

To put it bluntly, it is idolatry to think that we have ever grasped God, that we have comprehended him either as an objective fact 'out there' or as an exalted ideal 'in here'. In all such cases, we are trying to make

⁶Troy Organ, "A Cosmological Christology," The Christian Century, LXXXVII:42, (November 3, 1971), 1293-1295.

God into our possession. But this is just impossible (as well as being blasphemous). God transcends anything we can grasp or contain, and when we think we have him the truth is that he has slipped through our grasp and we are left clinging to some pitiable idol of our own making. We can never know God by seeking to grasp and manipulate him, but only by letting him grasp us. We know him not by taking him into our possession (which is absurd) but by letting ourselves be possessed by him, by becoming open to his infinite being which is within us and above us and around us.⁷

In counseling the Japanese American, it is important to discover this cosmological Christ and to educate people to this view which is inclusivistic and accepting.

The argument often heard in response to the idea of the cosmological Christ is that this is universalism. Perhaps so, depending on the way one defines the term. For the author, it is a profession of a personal faith in the God revealed in Jesus Christ who is the means to salvation (wholeness), and to whom one witnesses by word and deed. It is witnessing to the love of God in Jesus Christ and not imposing the love of God on others.

It follows then that another task of the pastoral counselor with the Nisei is to affirm the culture of the Issei as valuable. The task is to highlight the values in Japanese culture and thus to reinforce the dignity of all persons.

⁷John McQuarrie as quoted in Input, III:13 (April 19, 1973).

Paul Nagano writes:

...Man created in God's image was meant to be a son, not a bondservant under the law or under another man. It claims nothing more than the elemental biological identity of all human beings. Paul declares the elemental physical kinship of all men has to do with the unity and solidarity of all mankind biologically and religiously.

...In Japanese ethnic theology it means, first of all appreciation and respect of his God given heritage and being thankful to God for his Japanese ancestry. Secondly, it means seeking the humanness of all people. This naturally leads to the Christians' duty to destroy any attempt at dehumanization, whether it be racism or technology.⁸

For example, many Christians would consider some of the funeral practices in the Japanese Christian church to be pagan. There is the open casket, the bowing before the remains, a floral tribute, the black armband. To highlight the culture is not to erase or to condemn these practices but to see the value that is in them. For the bereaved these practices are ways in which to work through their grief. Likewise the memorials held on the forty-ninth day, one year, and three years after the death of a loved one are important in grief work. These periods are crucial in the lives of the bereaved. The value of these practices are to be preserved rather than to be condemned as heathen.

⁸Paul M. Nagano, "Japanese Americans' Search for Identity, Ethnic Pluralism, and a Christian Basis of Permanent Identity," an unpublished D.Rel. dissertation, School of Theology at Claremont, 1970, pp. 140-141.

Japanese festivals are another example. It is important not to condemn these occasions, but to make use of them and to transform them. The Japanese festivals celebrated significant days in the year. They were based on the seasons and on agricultural calendar. But more so they were times when the family gathered to celebrate. In times when the family is being splintered in American society, it is well to preserve the Japanese festivals.

Filial piety was taken to an extreme in Japanese culture. The pastoral counselor needs to preserve what is good in that value. He ought to work to transform it into something which has meaning for contemporary times. For instance, he may teach the parents how to use authority so that it is respected.

Additionally, the pastoral counselor will educate his people to the values which are beneficial in American society. The ideals of freedom, justice, love, individuality are to be preserved rather than belittled. They are to be learned rather than to be swept under the rug.

What the counselor with the Japanese American needs to remember is that the Japanese American is not Japanese and that he is not American. He is a hybrid: a Japanese-American.

The task of education as prevention of mental illness is to select the best from two worlds and to fit

them together into an authentic Japanese-American value system. It can be said presently that the Japanese American has adopted wholesale white middle class values. But this has reaped a harvest of unhappiness. If the Japanese American is to be healthy and to contribute to a pluralistic society that is America, the Japanese American must find an authentic value system. This is difficult, but nevertheless important.

The Pastoral Counselor

The pastoral counselor with Nisei will need to model effective ways of relating. In many cases the Nisei have only their parents to use as models for effective communication. More often than not these models have been less than desirable. Therefore the pastor will need to model ways of relating and communicating.

Because the Nisei are persons who are affected by amae, and because they have been taught to respect and follow the "sensei" (teacher, the title for a pastor), it will be a temptation for the pastor to be authoritarian and to be a benevolent dictator. It will be a temptation to be the one upon whom the people depend for benevolence. However, it would be counter productive for the pastor to do either. Instead, he ought to model what it means to be a person who accepts responsibility for himself and for no

one else. In other words to model what it means to be a person.

The pastor is to be a person who feels, who tires, who cries, who loves, who cares. This means that the pastor will need to shed some of the bushido with which he may have been conditioned, and to recondition himself to express feelings. But it is not to shirk all of bushido; it is to take what is valuable and leave what is not. For instance, it is to take the quality of sincerity which is communicated through the demeanor of the samurai and to preserve it while shucking away the idea that the mind must always control the expression of feeling. It would be valuable to keep the bushido quality of honesty, but to throw aside the lack of spontaneity. Likewise to demonstrate tact rather than the crassness of Americans, or to temper aggressiveness with politeness and courtesy.

It is important for the pastor to be a model of acceptance rather than judgment. To say in word and deed, "I love you. I may not like what you do or what you say, or even what you believe, but I love you."

The style of leadership which the pastor develops will do much to educate the people. If he strikes an authoritarian pose, the parishioners will follow along because they are primed by Japanese values to respect authority and to follow it without question. But this will

keep the church from realizing that they are the people of God, responsible for the life and ministry of the church, and put that responsibility upon the pastor.

An alternative style is to become a facilitator and enabler. Instead of conjuring up needs and developing programs around them, it is to be sensitive to needs as they arise and to enable the church to develop its own program. It is allowing the church leaders to use their judgment and to make decisions rather than for the pastor to make unilateral decisions. This style of leadership is fraught with frustration. It takes patience, but the laity will learn the value of individuality and responsibility, rather than to continually be entrapped in dependency.

Because Japanese Americans have a tendency toward face-to-face or primary-group type of intimacy,⁹ the use of groups to teach ways of communicating is excellent. Through the Evergreen Baptist Church in Los Angeles, the author has conducted several marriage enrichment groups. The response has been positive and he has noticed significant behavioral changes in many of the couples.

The relationship which the pastor has with his family is important. To let the church see that his family is important to him, to model living and accepting behavior

⁹Ruth Benedict, The Chrysanthemum and the Sword (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1946), pp. 43-55.

with his own family. These are goals toward which the pastor ought to be working. It is important for the pastoral counselor to find most of his needs for intimacy satisfied in the home rather than to seek intimacy primarily in the church.

Kosaki in her research on Nisei adolescents discovered that they wanted their teachers to show sensitivity to their worries, dreams, and plans; warmth and affection for them based on friendliness that is wise and objective, not sentimental and uncritical; a respect for personality which fosters feelings of security and worth; a willingness to become interested in them as individuals and a desire to work with them; and an enthusiasm for teaching and faith in its value.¹⁰ These are similar for the pastor. He ought to model sensitivity, warmth and affection, respect for people, and an enthusiasm about his work and faith.

It is well for the pastoral counselor to remember that in the prevention of mental illness as well as in treatment, the relationship which he has with the people is of primary importance. That relationship is characterized by caring, loving, and accepting.

¹⁰Mildred Doi Kosaki, "The Culture Conflicts and Guidance Needs of Nisei Adolescents," an unpublished M.Ed. thesis, University of Hawaii, August 1949, p. 99.

The Treatment of the Nisei

Studies of mental illness in America point to the fact that persons who are mentally ill first turn to the clergyman for advice and counsel. It could be safely assumed that the Nisei are like the rest of the American population. Yet in studies of Japanese American mental illness the church is overlooked as a mental health agency.

In 1969 Kitano studied Japanese American mental illness. His survey indicated that Japanese Americans seldom use therapeutic resources of the larger community. They under-utilized the services of psychiatry. Only the most severely disturbed sought help and a large number of less troubled were not seen by any mental health services.¹¹

For the most part, Japanese Americans treated mental illness through the family, extended family, and the community. Additionally they had gaman, the handling of pain and frustration without any outward signs. They were skilled in internalizing problems and therefore in hiding them.¹²

¹¹Derald W. Sue and Austin C. Frank, "A Typological Approach to the Psychological Study of Chinese and Japanese American College Males," Journal of Social Issues, XXIX:2 (1973), 145.

¹²Harry H. L. Kitano, "Japanese American Mental Illness," in Stanley C. Flog and Robert B. Edgerton (eds.) Changing Perspective in Mental Illness (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1969), p. 220.

Churches were not part of Kitano's study. However, it would be safe to assume that more people turned to their clergymen than to the professionals in mental health. Kitano observes that as more experts in the field of mental health are produced, more Japanese Americans will seek professional services. He also indicates that because of acculturation the rate of mental illness among Japanese Americans will become equal to that of the majority group in the United States.¹³

It is therefore important that the church become recognized as a mental health service and that the church become involved in community mental health. It would be well for the pastor with Nisei to be skilled in counseling. He ought to be a professional pastoral counselor. Because the Japanese Americans are influenced by education and title, it would be helpful but not necessary, for the pastoral counselor to obtain a licence in marriage, family and child counseling.

Sue notes that counseling and psychotherapy are essentially white middle class activities geared to the highly verbal and emotionally expressive persons. This form of treatment may be inappropriate to many Japanese Americans who are in need of help.¹⁴

¹³Ibid., p. 283. ¹⁴Sue, p. 145.

Japanese Americans are not expressive and are reserved.

Therefore other modes of counseling ought to be used.

Alternative modes are discussed later in this chapter.

The pastoral counselor ought to remember his goals in counseling. It is not to make the counselee a Christian or to impose upon him Christian values. A goal of counseling is to enable the person to function creatively in society and to utilize or develop his human potential.

When counseling with a Nisei it is well to remember "that which the people who called themselves Christians claimed to have the only true religion, and pretended to be better than all other men; they did not, in that particular, differ from the Chinese or Japanese, who made the same claims for their religions."¹⁵

Kosaki's advice is worth noting:

"Cultural differences among ethnic groups should be preserved as long as these differences help individuals to make their personal and social adjustments and that no individual should be forced to follow a cultural pattern which he continually repudiates."¹⁶

Dr. Frank Kimper, Professor of Pastoral Care at the School of Theology at Claremont, California, and Director of the Pastoral Counseling Center at Claremont, writes a goal which is a viable one for counseling the Nisei:

¹⁵Mori Arinori, "Life and Resources in America," in Charles Lanman (ed.) Leaders of the Meiji Restoration in America (Tokyo: Hokuseido Press, 1931), p. 241.

¹⁶Kosaki, p. 52.

...My concern that others also learn to love is the essence of my identity as a pastor. The methods I use to facilitate such learning by others identify me as a counselor. With persons oriented within the Christian faith, and concerned with spiritual growth as a Christian, all of my counseling is done in a 'theological context'. With persons who have no orientation as a Christian my counseling is done initially in a purely humanistic context, using exactly the same terminology, but without reference to God. This means that at any seemingly appropriate point I can interpret the interpersonal in terms of relationship with God, and give it immediately a theological perspective.

I am concerned in my counseling with helping people to experience what it means to be loved (i.e., what it means to experience 'salvation' in the person-God relationship); and to learn the discipline of loving others (i.e., what it means to be a disciple in the person-God relationship). My basic assumption in this is that love is the missing ingredient in all destructive human experiences--intrapsychic and interpersonal...¹⁷

In his paper Kimper explains the word loving as seeing a "neighbor as precious simply because and only because he is a human being." Loving is not approval of behavior, or agreeing with ideas, or responding to an attractive personality, or having sexual intercourse.¹⁸

Learning to love one's neighbor as oneself is a goal toward which to strive in pastoral counseling. However with the Nisei it may be difficult because he has a low concept of the self. The Nisei has a conflict in

¹⁷Frank Kimper, "My Pastoral Identity as a Counselor," a paper delivered to the Staff of the Pastoral Counseling Center at Claremont, December 1973, p. 1.

¹⁸Ibid.

achieving self-differentiation rather than accepting the personal submergence emphasized by Japanese ideals.¹⁹ He has a weak ego integration.²⁰ Thus to love neighbor as SELF is foreign. For the Nisei Christian the concept of self is further distorted by the mistaken interpretation of "losing one's self," which leads to self depreciation.

In counseling the troubled Nisei it would be worth trying a way of psychotherapy called psychosynthesis. Psychosynthesis helps one to discover the self and to realize its preciousness, and to live out of that center. Through psychosynthesis the counselor enables the counselee to make some important perceptual changes which affect his behavior:

First, the 'self' one must gradually be 'disidentified' from the equipment one has (body, mind, talents) and his performance (the way the self uses his equipment). Otherwise, the immeasurable value of the self is always confused with the variable quality of both equipment and performance. But as one is 'disidentifying' self from equipment and performance, one is simultaneously 'identifying' with those polar thrusts of individuality-intimacy, freedom-destiny, and dynamics-form which are experienced as both dynamic and precious. Yet it is as the Center of Awareness, able to transcend itself--to 'stand apart', so to speak, and evaluate its own activity that one recognizes the self as SELF...

This makes possible a second perceptual change: namely owning responsibility for one's own thoughts, words,

¹⁹DeVos, "Acculturation and Personality Structure: A Rorschach Study of Japanese Americans," an unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1959, p. 220.

²⁰Marvin K. Opler, Culture and Social Psychiatry (New York: Atherton Press, 1967), p. 380.

actions, attitudes, feelings; and disowning responsibility for one's neighbor's thoughts, words, actions, attitudes, feelings.²¹

Through the discovery of the self, the Nisei will be able to sort out the influences in his life and not become captive to either custom or tradition. He will be enabled to utilize the capacity to choose the direction of living that he wants. Thus he may choose what is of value for himself from both the American and Japanese heritages.

Another approach to working with the Japanese American, which the author has found successful, is transactional analysis. Because the Japanese American has a strong super ego, this technique is useful. To draw graphically the PAC chart and to let the counselee analyze himself brings many helpful insights. The reading of the book I'm Okay, You're Okay during counseling has been beneficial. Through the analyzing of transactions he is helped to find solutions to his problems.

Since Nisei appear to be more structure-oriented and non-verbal than middle class white Americans, it would seem as though the psychoanalytic methods of therapy would not be productive. These methods are long and non-directive. It is well to remember that the Nisei looks for direction and is not one who takes well to ambiguity.

²¹Kimper, p. 2.

Gestalt therapy with the Nisei may be indicated in treatment.

The implicit message of Gestalt theory as translated into treatment is that there are values in living that persons know from their own experiences or from their observations of others to be valuable and enhancing: spontaneity, sensory awareness, freedom of movement, emotional responsiveness and expressiveness, enjoyment, ease, flexibility in relating, direct contact and emotional closeness with others, intimacy, competency, immediacy and presence, self-support, and creativity. The patient who comes for help, seeking to relate more adequately with other people and to be able to express his feelings more directly is instructed to express what he is feeling at that moment to another person. The ways in which he stops, blocks, and frustrates himself quickly become apparent, and he can then be assisted in exploring and experiencing the blockings and encouraged to attempt other ways of expressing himself and of relating.

Thus the general approach of Gestalt theory and theory requires the patient to specify the changes in himself that he desires, assists him in increasing his awareness of how he defeats himself, and aids him in experimenting and changing...²²

For the Nisei who has "gotten out of touch" with his feelings and wants to be able to express them, Gestalt therapy seems to be a good methodology. It also appeals to the rational and encourages the person to set his own goals.

Reality therapy may be used effectively with the Nisei. William Glasser describes reality therapy as a therapy that leads all patients toward reality, toward

²²Joen Fagan and Irma Lee Shepherd, Gestalt Therapy Now (New York: Harper & Row, 1970), pp. 1-2.

grappling successfully with the tangible and intangible aspects of the real world.²³

In enabling the Nisei to take responsibility to fulfill "one's needs and to do so in a way that does not deprive others of the ability to fulfill their needs,"²⁴ reality therapy is a good methodology. It would seem that this would be a way in which to get persons in touch with their feelings of wanting to amaeru and to receive amae.

It must be said that no particular methodology can be prescribed for all persons. Therefore with each person and with each circumstance the methodology and approach will differ. The goal of enabling the person to choose their own values and to find their own way of living satisfactorily in society is to be sought.

Conclusion

The Nisei are a group of persons in American society who have struggled and are still struggling to find a place. Outwardly they have made a place in middle class American values. But inwardly they still face the tension of finding meaningful values to live by. They are caught in the tension of having to choose from two diverse

²³William Glasser, Reality Therapy (New York: Harper & Row, 1970), p. 6.

²⁴Ibid., p. 13.

cultures.

The pastor has a key role to play in the resolution of the tension. By word and deed, he can educate and counsel his parishioners, that they will learn to choose from both cultures, that they will experience the love, freedom, joy and peace which are rightfully theirs.

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